Chapter 15 The Quest for Canadian Unity

The fleur-de-lis, or lily, is an old French symbol that appears on the flag of Québec.

For people of Ukrainian heritage, the tryzub, or trident, is a powerful symbol of nation.

The lotus is a Hindu symbol that represents long life, health, honour, and good luck.

The Acadian insignia includes the motto "*L'union fait la force*" — "Strength through unity."

The eagle is a symbol of strength and wisdom for First Nations people.

Qimmiq, the hardy Canadian Inuit dog, is the official animal of Nunavut. "Qimmiq" means dog in Inukitiut.

Figure 15-1 Figure 15-1 Canada is a vast country whose diverse peoples often feel strong loyalties to their own groups or nations. The illustrations on this page show some symbols that are important to people of various cultures and nations. Canada's diversity means that promoting a sense of national unity is often a challenge.

CHAPTER ISSUE

To what extent should Canadian national unity be promoted?

SUPPOSE YOU AND YOUR CLOSE friends want to do something together but cannot decide what. You have suggested a movie, but your closest friend wants everyone to go to her place to watch some videos on YouTube. Another friend must finish an essay, and two others want to go to the mall to check out a new store. Your goal was to do something together, but your conflicting needs and wants are getting in the way.

The Canadian government often faces similar dilemmas. The government must manage the country and hold it together while accommodating change and attending to citizens' diverse wants and needs. Even when people share similar goals, they may not agree on the most effective way of achieving them.

Examine the collage of images on the previous page, then respond to the following questions:

- What is the main message of the collage? Explain your response.
- Why do you think the Canadian maple leaf flag and the Peace Tower were selected as the underlying image of the collage?
- Is the red maple leaf a strong enough symbol to unite Canada?
- What would you suggest as a symbol that all Canadians can identify with and rally round?
- If you could choose one more symbol to add to this collage, what would it be? What message would it send?
- What is one way to unite a country while promoting diversity?

KEY TERMS

patriated

equalization payments

inherent right

ecozone

economic nationalists

LOOKING AHEAD

In this chapter, you will explore the extent to which Canadian national unity should be promoted as you respond to the following questions:

- What is national unity?
- How does the nature of Canada affect national unity?
- How has the changing face of Canada affected national unity?

My Journal on Nationalism

You are nearing the end of your exploration of nationalism. Review your journal entries and your thinking about nationalism. Note major changes in your thinking, and why you think these changes occurred. Date your ideas and keep them in your journal, notebook, portfolio, learning log, or computer file so that you can return to them as you complete this course.

What is national unity?

Canada is a civic experiment, an attempt to bind diverse peoples together in equality of citizenship. Our citizenship expresses the ideal that all Canadians should stand equal before the trials of life and that all Canadians should benefit equally from life's opportunities.

— Michael Ignatieff, historian and politician, in Maclean's, *2006*

People's feelings of unity — oneness — with others is often closely tied to their sense of identity. Those who feel a common bond with others or who have a strong sense of belonging to a particular group or collective often feel as if they are part of a unified whole.

Think about your school. To what degree do students root for school teams, proudly display school colours, or participate in school-wide projects? Are these things important in promoting a sense of unity in your school community?

When people feel a sense of national unity, they identify with others who belong to the same nation. For many Canadians, this sense of national identity and unity means sharing basic beliefs and values, such as respect for diversity.

But sharing fundamental values and beliefs does not mean that all Canadians speak with a single voice. In a 1971 speech to the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau expressed this idea when he said: "There is no such thing as a model or ideal Canadian. What could be more absurd than the concept of an 'all Canadian' boy or girl? A society which emphasizes uniformity is one which creates intolerance and hate."

Many thinkers suggest that a society in which diverse people agree to live together according to rules based on specific values and beliefs is a civic nation — and Canada is often cited as an example. In civic nations, promoting national unity often involves trying to achieve consensus.

CheckBack

You read about the relationship between nationalism and identity, as well as the concept of civic nation, in Chapter 1.

Forces Affecting National Unity

Is national unity a goal worth pursuing?

The intensity of the sense of national unity felt by a country's citizens waxes and wanes — and this waxing and waning can be influenced by external and internal events. War, for example, is an external force that sometimes inspires people to feel an increased sense of patriotism and unity with other citizens. Sociologists have described this as the rally-round-the-flag effect. Political scientist John Kirton and researcher Jenilee Guebert identified this effect in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks on the United States. Canadians, too, had died in these attacks, and many Canadians shared Americans' sense of outrage over the murders.

"[Twenty-four] innocent civilian Canadians had been deliberately murdered on 9/11, in the twin towers of a city that was far closer to Canada than Pearl Harbor had been in 1941, when the last bolt-out-of-the-blue attack had hit the soil of its American neighbour," Kirton and Guebert wrote. "The conditions were thus especially ripe for the familiar 'rally effect' to spring to life in Canada, as in so many other countries when they first go to war."

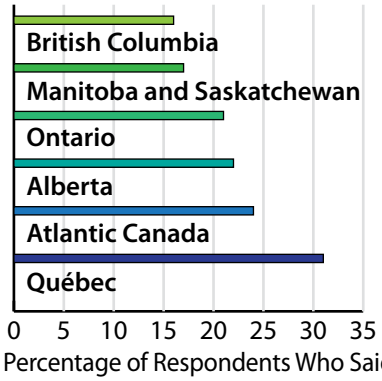
Internal pressures can also affect national unity. In Canada, for example, nations within the Canadian confederation, as well as people seeking to assert their nationhood, have exerted pressure to promote their own loyalties and sense of national identity. This sometimes creates the sense that Canadian unity is fragile.

In 2006, for example, a poll commissioned by *Western Standard* magazine and COMPAS, a public opinion research company, found that nearly one-third of Alberta respondents supported the idea that Canada's Western provinces should explore the idea of forming their own country.

And in 2006, a poll conducted by the Innovative Research Group found that many Canadians believe that Québec will have separated by the year 2020. The results of this poll are shown in Figure 15-2.

Examine the polling results in Figure 15-2. When you consider these figures, along with Albertans' feelings about Western separation, do you agree that Canadians' sense of unity is fragile — or would you argue that these results show Canada's strength? Explain your response.

Figure 15-2 Predictions on Québec Separation



MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Maude Barlow
Passionately Dedicated to Canadian Unity

Figure 15-3 The author of several books, Maude Barlow has been honoured with a two-year Lannan Cultural Freedom Fellowship for 2005 and 2006, as well as the 2005 Right Livelihood Award, also known as the "Alternative Nobel."

While Maude Barlow was growing up in Ottawa, she watched her father campaign for prison reform. A World War II veteran, her father had witnessed wartime atrocities — and had returned home determined to help change the world. His sense of social justice inspired his daughter to follow in his path.

In the 1970s, Barlow ran for the Liberal nomination in an Ottawa riding but was defeated.

This defeat marked a turning point for Barlow. Rather than continue to try to join the system, she decided to work outside it. She wanted the freedom to work with or criticize the government in power and to promote causes she believed in.

In 1985, Barlow and a group of concerned citizens founded the Council of Canadians, a national advocacy group that includes about 100 000 members. The COC's mission was to draw Canadians' attention to what the group perceived as the shortcomings of the Canada–United States Free Trade Agreement, but the group has expanded its activities to include protecting "Canadian independence by promoting progressive policies on fair trade, clean water, energy security, public health care, and other issues of social and economic concern to Canadians."

Barlow's work in these areas sparked an interest in what is happening around the world, and she is a director of the International Forum on Globalization. This think tank examines the benefits and drawbacks of globalization. She also co-founded the Blue Planet Project, a group dedicated to working internationally on water-related issues.

Barlow believes that international laws and bilateral trade agreements must benefit all citizens, not just businesses and political groups. She has criticized what she views as Canada's cozy relationship with the United States, arguing that the country should pursue a more independent course in trade and international affairs.

In all her activities, Barlow acts from a passionate belief in the importance of Canadian sovereignty and the power of individuals to bring about positive change. "I go crazy when I see certain things and I have to find out why they happen," she told CBC's *Life and Times*. "And I have to tell people . . . I have to do something so that other people will also take action."

Explorations

1. Maude Barlow has built a career by working outside Canada's political system. Does the work of people like Barlow help or hurt Canadian unity? Explain your response.
2. Conduct online research to find out more about the Council of Canadians. Would you consider joining this group? Explain the reasons for your judgment.

Canadian National Unity

Canada is the world's second-largest political territory. Its relatively small population is spread over six time zones and regions with vastly different physical characteristics. This means that Canadians may express many different points of view and perspectives on issues. Issues of concern to people in rural Alberta, for example, may not be important to residents of Vancouver or St. John's — and vice versa. In addition, Canadians speak many different languages and come from varied cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Their personal histories and experiences may be very different. This often makes it difficult for anyone to promote national unity by expressing a single vision of Canada.

Within Canada, individuals, groups, and collectives often feel contending loyalties and sometimes have trouble striking a balance between their loyalties. Increasing globalization has further complicated concepts of national identity and unity. Someone who was born in England to Indian and Pakistani parents, then spent her formative years in South Africa before moving to Alberta to pursue a rewarding career, may have a particular view of Canadian unity. This view may be very different from that of an immigrant with a different background and history and from that of someone born and raised in Alberta.

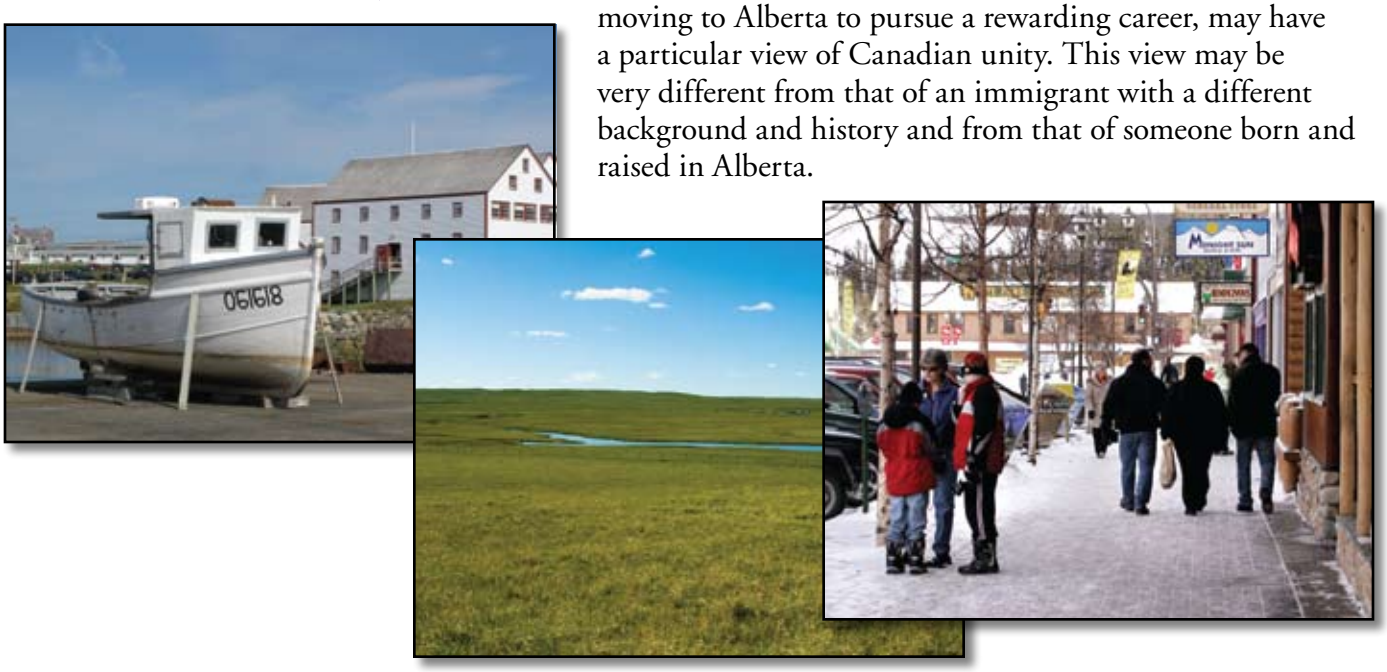


Figure 15-4 These three photographs — of the Newfoundland village of Bonavista, the prairie near Medicine Hat, and the city of Whitehorse — show images of Canada. How do they reflect the difficulty of achieving national unity? How do they reflect the many identities of Canadians?

Reflect and Respond

On a chart like the one shown, list five groups, collectives, or nations to which you feel loyalty. On a scale of 1 to 5, rank each according to its importance to you (1 = not very important; 5 = very important).

List the key goal(s) of each group, collective, or nation. Place an asterisk beside goals that may conflict and be prepared to explain the source of the potential conflict.

Briefly explain whether and how each loyalty promotes or discourages Canadian unity.

My Loyalties			
Group, Collective, or Nation	Ranking of Importance	Key Goal(s)	Effect on Canadian Unity

How does the nature of Canada affect national unity?

Maintaining unity in any group is often a challenge. Think about your own experiences with clubs and groups of various kinds. In any group or organization, conflicting forces create divisions between people. People within these groups may have different interests and goals or conflicting personalities and ways of doing things. As people mature and explore new opportunities, old loyalties may be strained and ways must be found to maintain them.

Nations and countries experience similar challenges — and these are magnified in a country as large and diverse as Canada.

With a partner, list four or five of the most difficult aspects of maintaining unity within a group. Jot a note explaining each choice. Place an asterisk beside the aspects that would also make it difficult to maintain national unity.

The Geography of Canada

Canada is huge. It stretches from the Arctic and Pacific seacoasts, over tundra and mountains, across prairies, past the Canadian Shield and the St. Lawrence lowlands, to the Appalachian region and the Atlantic coast. The geography of these regions is very different.

As a result, peoples in various regions have differing needs that are often dictated by the geography of the area where they live. These differences often create inter-regional tensions. Explosive economic growth in Alberta, for example, has generated prosperity for many Albertans, but this has affected the Maritimes by persuading skilled workers to move west. And the effects of climate change cause difficulties in the North, but they may benefit farmers in southern Saskatchewan.

Though faster and more efficient transportation and electronic communication have brought Canada's regions closer together and TV often acts as a homogenizing force, major differences continue to stand in the way of national unity.

Examine the cross-section of Canada shown in Figure 15-5. How does this profile illustrate the influence of geography — both positive and negative — on Canadian unity?

Voices

Canada — a triumph of politics over geography and economics — and sometimes it seems over common sense.

— Leonard Louis Levinson, in Webster's Unafraid Dictionary, *1967*

FYI

Canada by the Numbers

Area: 9 976 634 square kilometres

World rank in size: 2nd

Distance north to south: 4 634 kilometres (Cape Columbia on Ellesmere Island to Middle Island in Lake Erie)

Distance east to west: 5 514 kilometres

Length of coastline: 241 402 kilometres

Number of times France would fit into Canada: 18

Number of times Britain would fit into Canada: 40

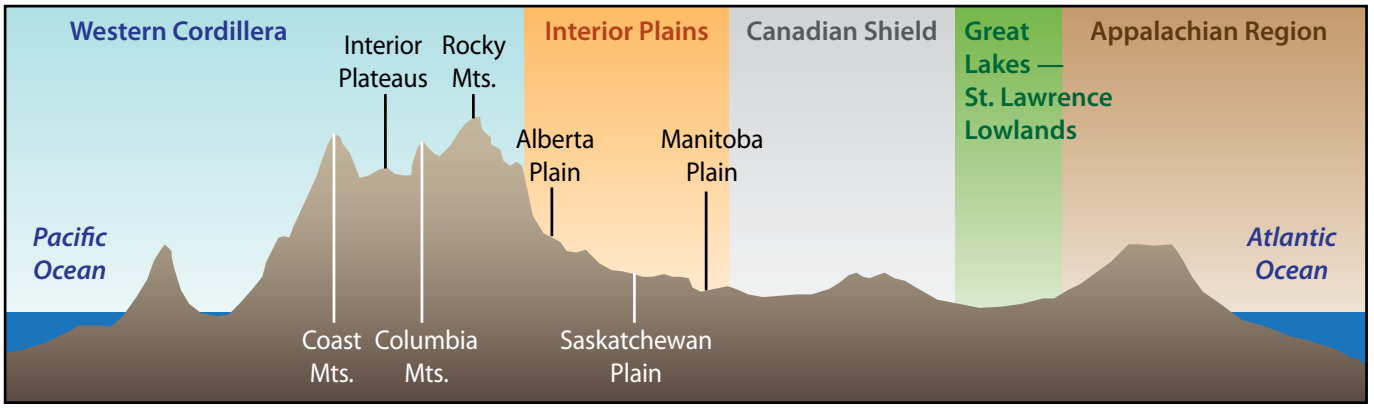
Length of border with United States (including Alaska): 8 890 kilometres

Number of climate zones: 11

Number of ecozones: 16

Number of time zones: 6

Figure 15-5 Cross-Section of Landform Regions along Canada–U.S. Border



Western Alienation

Regional needs often dictate how the federal government allocates money for federally funded programs. In addition, the federal government's objectives do not always match the goals of people in specific regions. These realities can foster the belief that Confederation has not benefited all Canadians equally. In Alberta and other Western provinces, this belief has sometimes led to feelings of alienation.

CheckBack

You read about the National Energy Program in Chapter 4.

These feelings came to a head in 1982, when the battle over the National Energy Program was in full swing. Gordon Kesler, a member of the newly formed Western Canada Concept party, won a provincial by-election in the Alberta riding of Olds-Didsbury. Kesler lost the seat in a general election held a few months later, but his win revealed the depth of some Westerners' feelings of alienation.

These feelings had led to the founding of Kesler's party, which advocated creating a new country in the territory west of the Ontario–Manitoba border. Although this party continues to exist, its extreme policies, such as ending immigration, have kept it on the margins. Since then, other parties supporting Western separation have also sprung up.

It is imperative to take the initiative to build firewalls around Alberta, to limit the extent to which an aggressive and hostile federal government can encroach upon legitimate provincial jurisdiction.

— Stephen Harper and others, in a letter to Alberta premier Ralph Klein, 2001

The most successful movement to emerge from Alberta led to the founding of the Reform Party — now part of the Conservative Party of Canada — in 1986. With deep roots in rural Alberta, this party was formed under the leadership of Preston Manning. In the 1993 federal election, the party's slogan was "The West wants in." Rather than separation, Reformers wanted a greater voice and more control over decision making in Ottawa.

Read the words of Stephen Harper and others in "Voices" on this page. Once Harper became prime minister, he said that his views on building a firewall had changed. What might have caused him to change his position?

Alienation in Other Regions

At various times, other provinces, such as Québec and Nova Scotia, have expressed deep dissatisfaction with the federal government. In 2007, for example, tensions between the federal government and Newfoundland and Labrador flared up over oil royalties.

FYI

Newfoundland and Labrador officially joined Confederation on March 31, 1949 — but the province was nearly equally divided on the wisdom of this decision. In a referendum on the question, 78 323 voted yes and 71 334 voted no. Confederation supporters won by a mere 6989 votes.

Since entering Confederation, Newfoundland and Labrador has been one of the most economically disadvantaged provinces in the country. But offshore oil and gas developments promised to change this. When the province believed that Ottawa was going back on its promise to allow Newfoundland and Labrador to keep most of the royalties from provincial gas and oil industries, Premier Danny Williams was so angry that he ordered the Canadian flag on all provincial buildings lowered to half-mast — a symbolic gesture that declared the death of peaceful arrangements between the two levels of government.

Does this dispute over oil royalties suggest that Alberta has more in common with Newfoundland and Labrador than many people think? Explain your response.

The Federal System and National Unity

In the 1860s, just as Britain's remaining North American colonies were moving toward Confederation, a devastating civil war divided the United States. When this country had been created nearly a century earlier, its Constitution had placed a great deal of power in the hands of the states rather than the central government. The Civil War was, in part, the result of the continuing power struggle caused by this situation.

Having witnessed the destruction caused by the American Civil War, John A. Macdonald and his colleagues were determined not to duplicate the conditions that might lead to a similar conflict in Canada. As a result, they agreed that federal and provincial or territorial governments would share some powers, but the British North America Act placed most key decision-making powers in the hands of the national government. It also specified that powers not mentioned in the act belonged to Ottawa.

But this situation changed in 1982, when the Constitution was **patriated** — transferred from the control of the British government to that of the Canadian government. The 1982 Constitution gave the provinces new rights and powers, such as exclusive control over resource development, which had been a key demand put forward by Alberta.

We have conferred on [the federal government], not only specifically and in detail, all the powers which are incident to sovereignty, but we have expressly declared that all subjects of general interest not distinctly and exclusively conferred upon the local governments and local legislators [the provinces], shall be conferred upon the General Government and Legislature.

— John A. Macdonald, in a speech to the Legislative Assembly, 1865

Equality and Fairness in a Federal System

When citizens believe they are treated fairly and equally, they are more likely to feel a sense of belonging to their country or nation. In a country as large and diverse as Canada, ensuring that all citizens feel as if they are treated fairly and equally presents many challenges — and can affect people's sense of national unity.

Equalization Payments

One of the federal government's jobs is to ensure that public services are available more or less equally to all Canadians, no matter where they live. Since 1957, the Canadian government has used a system of **equalization payments** to achieve this goal.

Under its equalization program, the federal government collects taxes from individuals and businesses across the country. These revenues are then pooled and redistributed to less prosperous provinces, which decide how to spend the money.

The formula for calculating equalization payments is complex and causes frequent squabbles. Prosperous provinces often claim that their taxpayers contribute too much, while less prosperous provinces say that they do not receive enough. Ontario is the only province that has never received equalization payments.

The statistics in Figure 15-6 show the distribution of equalization payments in 2008–2009. Which provinces received no equalization payments? Explain how equalization payments might help or hurt the cause of national unity.

Figure 15-6 Distribution of Equalization Payments, 2008–2009

Province	Payment Received ($ Millions)
Newfoundland and Labrador	$158
Prince Edward Island	$322
Nova Scotia	$1465
New Brunswick	$1584
Manitoba	$2063
Québec	$8028
Total	$13 620

Source: Department of Finance Canada

Political Representation

Web Connection

To read more about the federal electoral system and its history, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Canada's population is spread unevenly across the country, and ensuring that all Canadians and all regions are represented fairly in Parliament presents another challenge to national unity. The geographic, cultural, political, and demographic diversity of Canada's provinces and territories has always demanded a method of representation that is more complex than the concept of one person, one vote. If representation by population were the sole basis for electing members of Parliament, Ontario and Québec — where about two-thirds of Canadians live — would easily dominate. The voices of people in smaller provinces, such as Prince Edward Island, and sparsely populated territories would rarely be heard.

As a result, at Confederation, a compromise was built into the formula for allocating federal seats, and this formula has changed several times over the years to reflect the changing nature of the country. In 1915, for example, Prince Edward Island was guaranteed a minimum of four seats in Parliament.

Examine the data in Figure 15-8 and explain how these figures might be interpreted as positive and negative forces for national unity.

Figure 15-7 Like a growing number of Canadians, Jeff Chiba Stearns is of mixed-race ancestry. His mother's heritage is Japanese, and his father's is European. Some people of mixed ancestry have begun calling themselves Hapa, a Hawaiian word meaning "mixed-race." "Using the word 'Hapa' allowed us to escape from other people's definitions," Stearns told CBC Radio's *The Current*. What do you think this comment meant?

Official Multiculturalism

In the second half of the 20th century, the federal government changed Canada's immigration policies and began to welcome immigrants from many different parts of the world. This changed the character of the country, and in 1971, Canada became the first country to adopt multiculturalism as official government policy. This policy, which was affirmed in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and enhanced in the Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1988, is reflected in the country's pluralistic society.

The changes to immigration policies meant that, by 2006, an estimated one in every six Canadians was a member of a visible minority group. This statistic presents unique challenges and opportunities. All governments must find a way of striking a balance between honouring Canada's traditions and fostering a vision of the future that Canadians of all backgrounds and heritages can unite behind and promote.

With a partner, identify three ways that multiculturalism can contribute to national unity. Share your thoughts with the class.

Figure 15-8 Federal Representation in Selected Provinces

Number of MPs	Population (2008 Estimate)	People Represented by Each MP*
Alberta – 28	3.5 million	125 000
British Columbia – 36	4.5 million	125 000
Ontario – 106	13 million	123 000
Prince Edward Island – 4	140 000	35 000

* Rounded to nearest thousand.

Québec Sovereignty and National Unity

One of the greatest challenges to Canadian national unity has been the rise of Québec nationalism — and one of the greatest challenges to Québec nationalism has been the power of the federal government to convince Québécois that Canada is their country. The tension created by these challenges shapes the "Québec issue."

Within Québec, an element of the Francophone population has always sought greater self-determination. In the 1962 provincial election, the Québec Liberal Party voiced this impulse when it adopted the slogan "Maîtres chez nous" — "Masters in our own house." This slogan helped define the Quiet Revolution that occurred during the 1960s and involved a push for greater provincial power and reduced federal control over Québec's affairs.

Challenges for Francophones across Canada

The debate over affirming and promoting the French language and culture often focused on Québec and ignored the struggle of Francophones outside that province. But many provinces, including New Brunswick, Ontario, Manitoba, and Alberta, have significant French-speaking communities, though these communities form only a small part of the total population.

Since 1867, each of these provinces has ruled against the French language at some point. In 1892, for example, the government of the North-West Territories, which included the present-day provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, passed a law that only English would be used in the legislature. In 1871, the teaching of French in New Brunswick schools was outlawed. And as recently as 1930, Saskatchewan barred the teaching of French, even outside school hours.

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

In response to growing agitation in Québec, the federal government established the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963. The mission of the B and B Commission was to explore and recommend ways of maintaining national unity while enhancing the dual nature of Canada.

After holding hearings across the country, the commissioners found that

- most Francophones were shut out of positions of economic and decision-making power
- Francophone minorities outside Québec lacked the educational opportunities available to the anglophone minority in Québec
- the language barrier prevented many Francophones from finding government jobs and gaining access to federal services

CheckBack

You read about the Quiet Revolution in Chapters 8 and 13.

Voices

Canada will be a strong country when Canadians of all provinces feel at home in all parts of the country, and when they feel that all Canada belongs to them. We wish nothing more, but we will accept nothing less. Masters in our own house we must be, but our house is the whole of Canada.

— Pierre Trudeau, to the Liberal leadership convention, 1968

It is simply difficult — extremely difficult — for someone to become bilingual in a country that is not. And make no mistake. Canada is not a bilingual country. In fact, it is less bilingual today than it has ever been . . . So there you have it. As a religion, bilingualism is the god that failed. It has led to no fairness, produced no unity and cost Canadian taxpayers untold millions.

— Stephen Harper, in the Calgary Sun, *2001*

Figure 15-9 In Ottawa, stop signs and other official signs are printed in both English and French. What message does this send to Canadians? How important is this message? Explain your response.

Does focusing on issues involving English and French take much-needed attention away from issues involving other nations in Canada?

From the beginning, the B and B Commission aroused suspicions in parts of the country. Some people in the West viewed it as a government ploy to force them to learn French. Many in Québec believed that it was designed to divert attention from the province's social and economic problems. And some said that its focus was too narrow because it did not acknowledge the existence of other minority groups, such as Aboriginal peoples.

In response to these criticisms, the federal government acted quickly to implement many of the commissioners' recommendations. Federal funds, for example, were offered to the provinces to encourage them to increase the availability of French-language education, and New Brunswick declared itself officially bilingual. In addition, a federal department of multiculturalism was created — and this led to changes in Canada's policies toward all minorities.

Web Connection

To learn more about the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, go to this web site and follow the links.

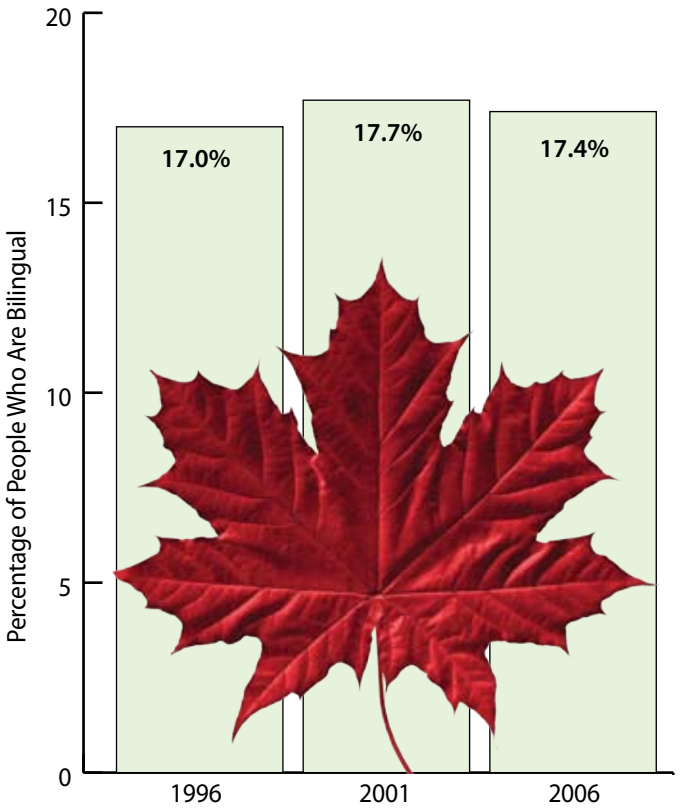
www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Official Bilingualism

One of the most important outcomes of the B and B Commission was the Official Languages Act, which was passed by the Liberal government of Prime Minster Pierre Trudeau in 1969. Its goals were to

- affirm the equal status of English and French
- preserve and develop official language communities in Canada
- guarantee that federal services are available in both official languages
- ensure that anglophones and Francophones have equal opportunities to participate in Parliament and federal institutions, such as the courts and the federal civil service

Figure 15-10 English–French Bilingualism in Canada, 1996–2006



Since then, this act has been changed and strengthened. Official languages were, for example, enshrined in the Constitution Act of 1982. But as immigration began to increase in the last half of the 20th century, the number of languages spoken in Canada also increased. The 2006 census, for example, revealed that 20 per cent of the population speaks at least one non-official language at home. For the government, this has intensified the challenge of promoting official bilingualism.

Examine the data in Figure 15-10. If you were asked to judge the success of official bilingualism on the basis of this graph alone, what conclusion might you reach? What other evidence would you want to examine before making a judgment on this issue? Then read the words of Pierre Trudeau and Stephen Harper in "Voices" on page 351, and consider whether the B and B Commission has had a positive or negative effect on national unity. Show your assessment on a continuum with "negative effect" at one end and "positive effect" at the other. Be prepared to defend your judgment.

THE VIEW FROM HERE

Although Canada patriated its Constitution in 1982, Québec did not sign the agreement. Since then, debate has continued over the wisdom of trying to bring Québec into the Constitution. Two attempts to include Québec have failed, and in a 1995 referendum, Québécois narrowly supported remaining in Canada.

Angus Reid was the founder and chief executive officer of the Angus Reid Group, a polling company. In 1991, Reid argued that it was time to amend the Constitution to maintain Canadian unity.

> I believe we have a unique window of opportunity in Canada to undertake the significant changes that are required to keep this country together. Against the backdrop of emotion, frustration and anger that fill the TV screen each night is an increasing resolve among Canadians to make the changes that are necessary to unite the country.
>
> The way to the future really only has two paths. One involves the development of a new constitution for all of Canada and the other involves the complete separation of Québec and the possible breakup of the rest of Canada.

In his 2007 autobiography, *My Years as Prime Minister*, former prime minister **Jean Chrétien** explained why he decided against another attempt to change the Constitution to accommodate Québec.

> Given that constitutional amendments were just about the last thing I wanted to spend my time on anyway, I immediately abandoned [constitutional change] as dead in the water. I decided instead to ask Justice Minister Allan Rock to prepare a bill on the veto and a resolution on distinct society for presentation as soon as possible to the House of Commons. These two initiatives may not have been entrenched in the Constitution, I argued, but they made it almost impossible politically for any future government to stand up in Parliament and say it was going to ignore the provinces' veto or Quebec's distinct status.

Ovide Mercredi, former national chief of the Assembly of First Nations, has lobbied vigorously for Aboriginal peoples to be involved in any negotiations on constitutional change. He made the following remarks in a 1999 online series of commentaries sponsored by the Dominion Institute.

> How can national unity be achieved without the participation of the aboriginal people who possess a pre-existing title to the very soil that Canada now claims as its territory?
>
> We can all agree that the participation of aboriginal peoples in the restructuring of Canada might bring more challenges in the quest for unity. But to exclude aboriginal peoples, because too many challenges increase the likelihood of failure, is dishonest and cowardly. To favour political expediency rather than to face reality mocks Canada's deeply cherished principles of democracy and fairness for all.

Explorations

1. In your own words, explain the position of each speaker.
2. Québec did not sign the 1982 Constitution. Both the Meech Lake Accord (1987–1990) and the Charlottetown Accord (1992) — attempts to include Québec — failed. Considering your understanding of Canada as a nation, Canada's national interest, and the diversity of Canadian society, what do you think might be the most effective way of achieving unity on this issue?

Confirming or Revising Your View or Opinion

FOCUS ON SKILLS

When economist John Kenneth Galbraith was accused of changing his position, he is reported to have said: "When the facts change, I change my mind. What do you do, sir?"

How would you respond to Galbraith's question? What do you do when new ideas, information, and arguments suggest that a position you have taken should be modified or even reversed? Does changing your mind show flexibility and a willingness to adapt, or does it indicate indecisiveness? Does the importance of the decision play a role in your willingness to revise your position? Would you, for example, be more reluctant to reconsider your point of view on national unity than your opinion about a movie?

As you have progressed through this course, you have been keeping a journal to track your understandings of nationalism. You will use this journal as you work through the following steps, which will help you understand whether, how, and when your understanding(s) of nationalism changed — and to reflect on this process.

Steps to Confirming or Revising Your View or Opinion

Step 1: Review your original and current positions

Return to the journal entry you recorded at the beginning of Chapter 1. It asked you to note your understanding(s) of nationalism. Then reread the journal entry you made at the beginning of this chapter.

Compare the two by using a chart like the one shown on the following page to record point-form notes setting out your original understanding(s) and your current understanding(s). In the third column, identify whether and how your original view has changed or been confirmed.

Step 2: Reflect on the process

You have been encouraged to reflect on your understanding(s) of nationalism at the beginning of each chapter. Skim and scan your journal to trace the evolution of your thinking. Identify points at which your thinking changed and what influenced these changes — or identify evidence that confirmed your original view.

In the fourth column of the chart, enter notes about these influences. You might, for example, include notes such as "new information" (specify what this was), "the opinion of . . ." (specify a knowledgeable person), "a shift in my values" (specify the shift), and "logical arguments" (specify the argument).

In the final column, assess the weight of each influence on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = somewhat persuasive; 5 = very persuasive) in persuading you to confirm or change your view or opinion.

Step 3: Restate your position

After reviewing your understandings and considering the factors that influenced your thoughts, write a journal entry that sums up the evolution of your thinking. Share this with a partner.

Step 4: Practise the skill

Consider this situation. Before World War II, Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King had promised Canadians that conscripts would be required to perform home service only. They would not be sent overseas to join the fighting. But by 1942, Canadian casualties were mounting and voluntary recruitments were not high enough to replace soldiers who had been killed or wounded. Many people, particularly anglophones, were urging King to reverse his position on conscription — but many Francophones were urging him to keep his promise.

King changed his mind and decided to send conscripts overseas, but he wanted to be sure that Canadians supported him. So he called a plebiscite — a special vote on a particular issue — asking Canadians to release him from his promise. On April 7, 1942, about three weeks before the plebiscite was held, he addressed the country and pleaded with people to understand that the situation had changed.

This is what King said.

> The restriction upon the power of the government was necessary at the outset to preserve national unity . . . You know full well that a foremost aim of my public life has been the preservation of the unity of Canada. I must say that under the changed conditions of today, and with Canada's record in war being what it has been over the past two and a half years, I see no reason why the removal of the restriction should weaken unity. I believe firmly that its removal will help overcome a source of irritation and disunity within our own country.

Work with your partner to put yourselves in King's place. To record the evolution of King's thinking and gain an understanding of the process he went through, create a chart similar to the one you completed earlier. Conduct research to find out about conditions when the war began, how things had changed by 1942, and the eventual outcome of King's change of mind.

With your partner, write a short statement that clearly presents the reasoning King used to justify his shift in thinking.

My Understandings of Nationalism

My Original Understanding(s)	My Current Understanding(s)	What Has Changed	What Influenced the Change	Ranking of Persuasiveness of Change 1 = somewhat persuasive; 5 = very persuasive

Summing Up

You are nearing the end of this course, and you will soon be developing your response to the key course-issue question: To what extent should we embrace nationalism? A systematic approach to analyzing the evolution of your thinking, such as the one suggested in this skill focus, can help you clarify your thoughts.

Are sovereignty and self-determination the same thing?

Aboriginal Self-Determination and National Unity

Self-determination involves making your own decisions about what is in your best interests. Doing this often demands a degree of self-government. Aboriginal peoples believe that self-determination is an **inherent right** — a right that exists because they occupied their land and governed themselves for thousands of years before the arrival of Europeans in North America. Striking a balance that satisfies the needs and aspirations of Aboriginal peoples and all Canadians presents unique challenges and opportunities.

Although Canada's 1982 Constitution recognized "Aboriginal rights," it did not define whether these rights included self-determination and self-government. Since then, some politicians, such as Paul Martin, who was prime minister from 2003 to early 2006, have agreed that Aboriginal rights include self-determination, but this was never made official. More recently, the Canadian government has explicitly refused to support the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which affirms Aboriginal peoples' right to self-determination — and to self-government in "matters relating to their internal and local affairs."

Over the years, however, the Nisga'a of British Columbia and the Inuit of Nunavut and Nunavik have negotiated agreements that give them a form of self-determination and self-government. When negotiating agreements like these, the federal government's position has been that federal, provincial, territorial, and Aboriginal laws must work in harmony.

Our governments were recognized in treaties between nations. They were recognized in royal proclamations, constitutions and domestic laws. They were recognized by all the European and Canadian governments that have come and gone over the intervening 500 years. Internationally, the United Nations Declaration on [the] Rights of Indigenous Peoples also recognizes the right to self-government.

— Wilton Littlechild, Ermineskin Cree and Alberta regional chief, Assembly of First Nations, to the Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples, 2007

Figure 15-11 In 2007, Chief Mike Retasket of the Bonaparte Indian Band in British Columbia addressed a rally on the National Day of Action organized by the Assembly of First Nations. On the stage, organizers included a large Canadian flag. What message might the decision to include this flag have sent?

But Stephen Cornell, a sociologist who is co-director of the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, believes that Aboriginal self-government involves more than local control. "If it were just that, then simply mimicking existing Western modes of governance and policy-making might be good enough," Cornell has written. "These Western modes have their place, but they rest on values and techniques that are often in conflict with values and practices of First Nations. Importantly, self-government is an opportunity to express the unique values and aspirations of the nation itself — to build 'Aboriginality' into law-making and governance and to have shared meaning for the community to which these laws apply."

In your own words, sum up Cornell's position. Compare his statement with the words of Wilton Littlechild in "Voices." On the basis of these statements, what prediction(s) would you make about the future of Canadian national unity and Aboriginal self-determination?

Aboriginal Land Claims and National Unity

In recent decades, some progress has been made toward settling the hundreds of outstanding Aboriginal land claims. The James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement of 1975 started this process, and since then, other claims, such as that of the Nisga'a of British Columbia, have been settled.

Still, for Aboriginal peoples, the pace of settlements has been frustratingly slow. Though specific land claims are not necessarily tied to self-government, the two issues often affect each other. The issue is complicated by the fact that non-Aboriginal Canadians are nearly evenly divided over whether Aboriginal peoples are entitled to self-government. A 2001 National Post–COMPAS poll, for example, found that 49 per cent of respondents believed that Aboriginal peoples are entitled to self-government.

FYI

The federal government divides Aboriginal land claims into two broad categories:

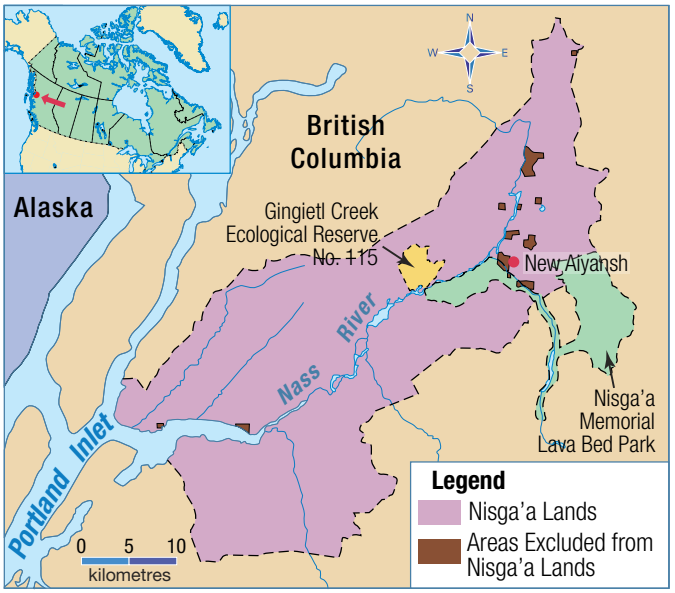
- Comprehensive land claims involve traditional lands, such as large parts of British Columbia, where Aboriginal rights and title were never dealt with in treaties or other agreements.
- Specific land claims involve areas where disputes have arisen because treaties have been violated or land has been removed without the consent of First Nations.

The Nisga'a Agreement

When the governments of Canada, British Columbia, and the Nisga'a Nation reached a comprehensive land-claim agreement in 1998, it was hailed as a milestone. Like many B.C. First Nations, the Nisga'a had never signed a treaty, and the agreement confirmed their right to control 2000 square kilometres of traditional territory in the Nass River area. The agreement also affirmed the Nisga'a Nation's right to self-government — to make their own decisions on issues relating to culture, language, public works, land use, health, child welfare, education, and mineral resources.

Through this agreement, the Nisga'a gained a degree of self-determination, but they also recognized the authority of the Canadian government. In what ways might this agreement affect Canadian national unity? Nisga'a national unity?

Figure 15-12 Nisga'a Territory



Nunavut

On April 1, 1999, the political map of Canada changed when a new territory — Nunavut — was created. The government of Nunavut, where 85 per cent of people are Inuit, has gradually taken over responsibility for its own administration. To enhance unity in the territory, *quajimajatuqangit* — traditional Inuit knowledge — plays an important role in developing government policies. Healing circles, for example, are a traditional practice that has become part of the justice system.

Reflect and Respond

Many factors pose challenges to Canadian unity. In response, the federal government has used strategies such as equalization payments to promote national unity. With a partner, list at least five strategies the federal government could put into practice to reinforce Canadian national unity.

Compare your list with that of another pair. With the other pair, develop a combined list of the five strategies you believe are the most practical. State the main reason your group chose each strategy.

Nunavik and the New North

In March 2008, a historic agreement came into force. It created a form of self-government in the northern third of Québec. This area, called the Regional Government of Nunavik, covers nearly 507 000 square kilometres north of the 55th parallel and is home to about 10 000 people, mostly Inuit. The region will remain part of Québec but elect its own government to administer local services such as education and health care.

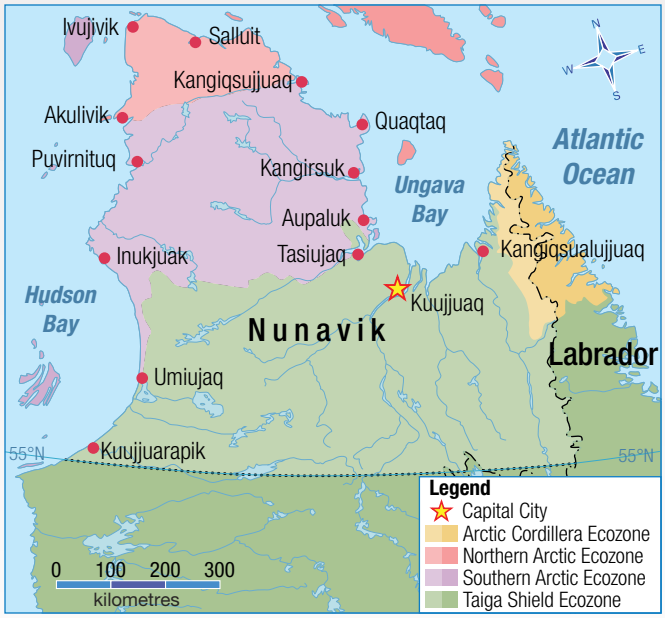
Announcing the agreement, Prime Minister Stephen Harper said: "It took 30 years to bring it to fruition, but this historic milestone hails the dawn of a new era for the Nunavimmiut [residents of Nunavik]. By resolving the issues of land and resource ownership and usage rights, the agreement creates a stable environment for investment and development that will mean new jobs and business opportunities for people throughout this region."

A Different Model

Unlike other land-claim settlements, the Nunavik agreement sets up a form of parliamentary government similar to the system that already exists in Ottawa and the provinces. The settlement is also unlike other agreements because it is not based on ethnicity. It involves everyone who lives in Nunavik.

The Nunavik regional government will receive funding from both Ottawa and Québec City, but revenues will also come from royalties associated with resource development. This revenue source creates exceptional opportunities for the people of Nunavik, but it also means that they assume responsibility for sustaining the region's fragile environment.

Figure 15-13 Nunavik Region of Québec



Life in the Arctic Ecozones

An **ecozone** is an area of the earth's surface that represents a large ecological zone and has characteristic landforms and climate. The northern tip of Nunavik lies in the Northern Arctic Ecozone, and a small part of the eastern section is in the Arctic Cordillera Ecozone. But most of the region is in the Southern Arctic Ecozone or the Taiga Shield Ecozone. The entire region is dry year-round, with cool summers and very cold winters.

This Arctic environment has always presented special challenges and opportunities to the Inuit, who developed effective strategies for living in the harsh conditions. Traditionally, these strategies relied on hunting and fishing.

Both the Northern and Southern Arctic Ecozones have sensitive ecosystems and limited biodiversity — a small number of different plants and animals. The Northern Arctic Ecozone, for example, includes fewer than 20 species of mammals.

In any sensitive ecosystem, a small change in climate can result in dramatic changes in the area's biodiversity. Though the Inuit way of life has contributed little to the warming that is taking place in the Arctic, climate change threatens the traditional Inuit lifestyle.

The agreement that created Nunavik is unlikely to help the Inuit control climate change, but it may provide the tools they need to adapt to the changes. "Climate change is caused by southerners," Johnny Watt, a former mayor of Kuujjuaq, the region's capital, told *The Walrus* magazine. "It's their fault. All we can do is speak out — that's our main contribution. Otherwise there's no choice but to get used to it."

Changing Traditions

Climate change, population growth, easier and faster transportation and communications, and urbanization have combined to change the traditional Inuit way of life — and these changes have sometimes strained their sense of identity and unity. Before contact with Europeans, for example, Inuit created carvings from the teeth and bones of the animals they had killed. Because the Inuit migrated with the seasons, these carvings often decorated items that had practical uses. They were generally small so that they could be transported easily.

But when people from the South discovered these objects and wanted to buy them, Inuit carvers started making them for sale as works of art. In response to demand, Inuit sculptors began creating carvings that were bigger and heavier. They sometimes also used non-traditional materials.

Figure 15-14 Inuit artists George Pitseolak and Jimmy Pitaloosie created these sculptures for sale.

Bear and Cubs	*Seal*
George Pitseolak	Jimmy Pitaloosie
27.5 cm x 45 cm	33 cm x 21.6 cm
Serpentine	Serpentine
Dorset Fine Arts	Dorset Fine Arts

New Challenges and Opportunities

The growing integration of the economies of northern and southern Canada has created many new challenges and opportunities for the Inuit. In 2003, for example, mining companies spent about $18 million on exploration in the region. A year later, this figure had risen to $30 million — and it continues to grow. This growth has given young Inuit opportunities to train for jobs such as prospecting, mining, operating and maintaining heavy equipment, carpentry, and administration.

Tourism is also a growing industry. Nunavik attracts hunters and fishers from the South, but ecotourism is also becoming important and has created many jobs.

The introduction of jobs that replace traditional lifestyles makes school-based education essential for Inuit youth. But many young people in the North believe they are receiving mixed messages. On the one hand, they are advised to stay in school to improve their chances of landing a job; on the other, they are encouraged to honour and maintain Inuit values and their traditional way of life. These conflicting expectations can create a sense of alienation that makes it difficult for Inuit to maintain a sense of identity.

Figure 15-15 The community of Akulivik, pictured in winter and summer, lies north of the tree line on the eastern shore of Hudson Bay in the Northern Arctic Ecozone. What challenges might this environment present?

Explorations

1. When Stephen Harper announced the Nunavik agreement, he referred to "Nunavimmiut." Explain the significance of Harper's choice of this word rather than the word "Inuit."
2. The agreement that created Nunavik may set a precedent that will lead to similar agreements in other parts of Canada. If it does become a precedent, how would it benefit Aboriginal peoples and Canadian unity? Explain your response.
3. The agreements relating to the Nisga'a, Nunavut, and Nunavik provide three different models for achieving self-determination and self-government. Which do you believe is most effective from the perspective of
   a) Canada
   b) the people of the territory involved
   Explain the reasons for your judgment.

How has the changing face of Canada affected national unity?

Increasing globalization, ease and speed of travel, new technologies, and world events mean that today's Canada is very different from the country that was created in 1867. Many of these changes have reinforced Canadian unity, but people also worry that some of the changes are dividing Canadians and will have a negative effect on national unity.

But a nation does not remain a nation only because it has roots in the past. Memory is never enough to guarantee that a nation can articulate itself in the present. There must be a thrust of intention into the future.

— *George Grant, philosopher, in* Lament for a Nation: The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism, *1970*

Emerging Trends

In the 21st century, various trends — both in Canada and internationally — are likely to affect Canadian unity. The effects of some of these trends, such as changing immigration patterns and economic globalization, are already evident.

Immigration

Peoples from around the world have found a home in this country, and the Canadian population increasingly reflects all the nations of the world. The 2006 census provided a snapshot of this "new" Canada.

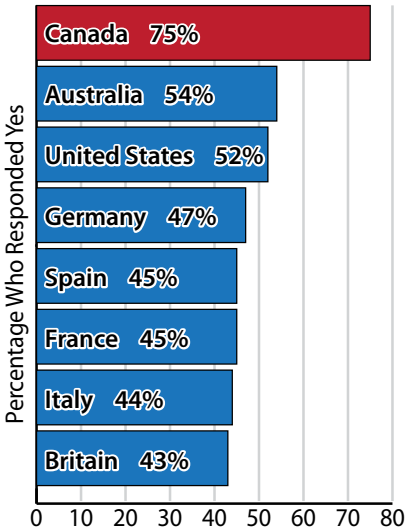
- Canada's foreign-born population grew four times faster than its Canadian-born population.
- 58.3 per cent of recent immigrants came from Asia, including the Middle East, compared with 12 per cent in 1971.
- More than 20 per cent of Canadians speak neither English nor French as their first language. This was up from 18 per cent in 2001.
- After English and French, Chinese languages are the most commonly spoken.
- The percentage of bilingual (English–French) anglophones outside Québec dropped to 13 per cent from 16.3 per cent in 1996.
- More than 60 per cent of immigrants choose to live in Canada's three largest cities: Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver. Only 5 per cent settle in rural areas.
- More than 80 per cent of Canadians live in urban centres.

In *The Polite Revolution: Perfecting the Canadian Dream*, John Ibbitson reflected Canadians' overwhelmingly positive view of immigration when he wrote: "Immigrants are vital to Canada, not simply because they help to infill sectors of the economy where there are labour shortages. They are vital because they represent the very future of the economy itself."

In 2006, the British-based polling company Ipsos MORI surveyed people in eight countries, including Canada, to assess attitudes toward immigration. The results are shown in Figure 15-16. Examine these results. How do Canadians' attitudes toward immigrants differ from the attitudes of people in other countries? What might account for this? How might this affect Canadian unity and identity?

Figure 15-16 Immigrant Influence

Overall, would you say immigrants are having a good or bad influence on the way things are going in [country]?



Source: Ipsos MORI International Social Trends Monitor, May 2006

Urbanization

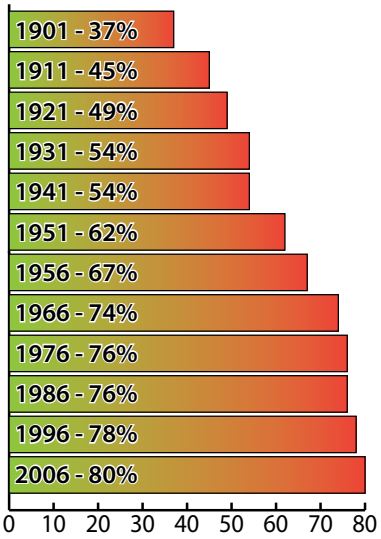
At the beginning of the 20th century, only about 37 per cent of Canada's population lived in urban areas. By 2006, a little more than a hundred years later, this had changed dramatically, as more than 80 per cent of people were urbanites.

In addition, nearly all the 1.8 million immigrants who arrived in Canada during the 1990s settled in urban areas. And about 73 per cent of the new arrivals settled in three large cities: Toronto, Montréal, and Vancouver.

This trend means that Canada's large urban centres are growing rapidly — and this has created challenges. As people move to cities, they require housing and services such as transit and education. In some cities, keeping up with the demand for homes and services has strained resources. It also means that some cities, such as Toronto, have become so large that they are demanding a greater say in decisions that used to be made exclusively by the federal and provincial governments.

Examine the bar graph in Figure 15-17. If this trend continues, how do you think Canada is likely to be affected? Is increasing urbanization likely to unite or divide Canadians? Explain your responses.

Figure 15-17 Proportion of Canada's Population Living in Cities, 1901–2006



Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population, 1901 to 2006

Aboriginal Peoples

The 2006 census revealed that the number of Aboriginal peoples in Canada topped one million for the first time since the federal government started keeping records. This means that Aboriginal peoples are the fastest-growing segment of the country's population. In the 10-year period between 1996 and 2006, the Aboriginal population increased by 45 per cent, while the non-Aboriginal population increased by only 8 per cent. Aboriginal peoples now make up 3.8 per cent of people in Canada, compared with 2.8 per cent in 1996.

Of the three Aboriginal groups, the greatest growth occurred among those who identified themselves as Métis. Their number increased by 91 per cent. Statistics Canada attributed some of this growth to a higher-than-average birth rate but also pointed out that more people are now willing to identify themselves as Métis.

The 2006 census also revealed that, for the first time, a majority of Aboriginal people — 54 per cent — live in urban areas. Winnipeg is home to the largest concentration of Aboriginal people, who make up 10 per cent of the city's total population. Edmonton is second, and Calgary is fourth.

Examine the information in Figure 15-18 and think about the effects of these trends. How are the growing population and increasing urbanization of Aboriginal peoples likely to affect their sense of national identity? Are these trends likely to strengthen or weaken Canadian unity? Explain your responses.

FYI

In April 2008, the Canadian Senate voted to conduct some of its debates and committee meetings in Inuktitut. The Senate will hire interpreters to translate debates and proceedings that are of particular interest to Nunavut. Though Inuktitut will be the only non-official language allowed at first, the Senate planned to assess the success of this initiative with a view to extending this decision to include other Aboriginal languages. In 2008, seven of Canada's senators had Aboriginal roots.

Figure 15-18 Growth in Aboriginal Populations, 1996–2006

	1996	2006	Percentage Increase
People who identified themselves as Aboriginal	799 010	1 172 790	+46.8%
First Nations	529 040	698 025	+29%
Métis	204 115	389 785	+91%
Inuit	40 220	50 485	+26%

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 and 2006 Census

Economic Globalization

This is an important moment for Canada. Well below the radar screen and unknown to most Canadians, a serious commitment has now been undertaken by their government to create a North American fortress with a common economic, security, resource, regulatory, and foreign policy framework.

— Maude Barlow, chair of the Council of Canadians, in Too Close for Comfort: Canada's Future in Fortress North America, *2005*

As the world becomes increasing globalized, multilateral trade agreements have become increasingly common. For **economic nationalists** — people who believe that a country's businesses and industries should be protected — these trade agreements are often a double-edged sword. On the one hand, increased trade may generate economic prosperity; on the other, the requirements of these agreements can threaten a country's ability to make decisions that are in the best interests of its citizens.

In the late 1980s, the Conservative government of Brian Mulroney negotiated a free-trade agreement with the United States. In 1994, this agreement was extended to include Mexico. Since then, Canada has also extended free trade to Chile and Colombia, and is negotiating free-trade agreements with China and Europe.

These agreements remain controversial, and Canadians are often divided about their benefits. Ontario, for example, relied on manufacturing jobs to fuel its economy, but free trade meant that manufacturers were free to move their plants to countries where workers' wages and benefits were lower and business rules, such as environmental standards, were less strict. When these plants moved, Ontario workers lost their jobs.

Figure 15-19 Dextre, the robot developed by MacDonald, Dettwiler and Associates in partnership with the Canadian Space Agency, cost $200 million and was installed on the International Space Station in March 2008. Dextre can lift nearly 600 kilograms, is capable of sensing the movements of the objects it manipulates, and is expected to perform important tasks in maintaining the station.

In May 2008, the Conservative government of Prime Minister Stephen Harper made history when it stepped in to prevent the sale of Canadian space technology to an American defence contractor. MacDonald, Dettwiler and Associates — MDA — had planned to sell its space technology division to American-owned Alliant Techsystems for $1.3 billion.

Blocking the sale marked the first time a government had used the Investment Canada Act, passed in 1985, to prevent the sale of a Canadian company to foreign owners. When Canadian businesses valued at more than a specified amount — $295 million in 2008 — are slated to be sold to non-Canadians, this act requires a review of the sale to ensure that it will benefit Canada. Since this act was introduced, Investment Canada has approved nearly 1600 foreign takeovers of Canadian companies.

MDA's space technology division includes the Canadarm; Dextre, a two-armed robot used on the International Space Station; and the Radarsat-2 satellite, which records environmental images and data. Much of the work on these technologies was completed in partnership with the Canadian Space Agency, which funded their development.

News of the proposed sale created an uproar. Marc Garneau, the first Canadian to fly in space and a former head of the Canadian Space Agency, argued that the deal enabled MDA to profit from technology that had been developed at the expense of Canadian taxpayers. But Garneau added that more than economic benefit was involved. "It's an issue that touches on our sovereignty as a country," he said. "The fact is that [Radarsat-2] is very promising technology, which we can sell to the rest of the world . . . we should hold on to it."

The government's action renewed debate over whether — and when — foreign companies should be allowed to take over Canadian businesses. Dominic D'Alessandro, president and chief executive of Canadian-owned Manulife Financial, reflected the views of many Canadians when he told shareholders, "I sometimes worry that we may all wake up one day and find that as a nation, we have lost control of our affairs."

Web Connection

To find out more about the Canadian Space Agency, Canadarm, Dextre and Radarsat-2, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Taking Turns

Is economic globalization likely to increase — or decrease — Canadians' sense of national unity?

The students responding to this question are Jean, a Francophone student who lives in Calgary; Rick, who was born in the United States but moved to Fort McMurray with his family when he was 10; and Jane, who lives in Calgary and is descended from black Loyalists who fled to Nova Scotia after the American Revolution.

Jean

A sense of national unity? You're joking, right? I don't think Canadians feel a sense of national unity in the first place, so I don't see how economic globalization would affect it one way or the other. I'm not saying this lack of national unity is a bad thing. It means that peoples are free to pursue their own interests — and can be citizens of the world rather than just focusing on Canada.

My family is pretty involved in the oil business here in Fort McMurray, and you just have to look around to see the benefits of economic globalization. Companies and people from all over the place are at work here — and lots of that is because of economic globalization. Things are booming, and a booming economy helps Canada in lots of ways — like when people are making a good living at good jobs, they feel good about themselves and about their country. They have choices, and they feel more unified. So yes, I would say that economic globalization will increase Canadian unity.

Rick

Jane

I'm not a big fan of economic globalization. I think it creates really huge multinational corporations that will one day be more powerful than governments. And I think that this is a real threat to unity and to lots of other things we take for granted, like democratic processes. Will people one day have to decide between a corporation and their country or nation? That isn't going to help national unity.

Your Turn

How would you respond to the question Jean, Rick, and Jane are answering? How important is a sense of national unity? Explain the reasons for your response.

1. In this chapter, you have explored responses to this issue question: To what extent should Canadian national unity be promoted?

   Indira Gandhi, who served several terms as prime minister of India, once said that Canada is proof that "diversity not only enriches but can be a strength." Canada is a large and diverse country that is often viewed as a model because of its ability to unite various peoples. At the same time, many Canadians worry that various forces are pushing the country apart.

   Write a short essay that explains why someone like Indira Gandhi would view Canada as a model. In your essay, comment on whether you believe that this view is accurate and support your judgment with valid evidence.

2. In the 1990s, some people feared that the nation-state of Canada might not continue to exist as it had for more than a hundred years. The Meech Lake and Charlottetown constitutional accords had failed to win public support, and the 1995 Québec referendum on sovereignty was a "near-death experience" for Canadian federalists. In those years, former prime minister Joe Clark wrote a book titled *A Nation Too Good to Lose: Renewing the Purpose of Canada*. In this book, Clark suggested some strategies that ordinary citizens could follow to keep Canada united. The following are some of his suggestions:

   Keeping Canada Together

   1. Start discussions about Canada. Find some background material that can be circulated and serve as the basis of discussion. Invite a teacher or a community leader or any wise person to serve as moderator.
   2. Invite speakers, either to informal neighbourhood discussions or meetings of existing organizations. The point would be to generate more understanding of the Canada you don't yet know.
   3. Speak up for your country. Remind your friends and family about the United Nations' judgment that Canada is one of the best places in the world to live in.

   a) On a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = least effective; 5 = most effective], rank Clark's suggestions. In point form, note one justification for each of your judgments.
   b) Which recommendation(s) could be followed in your community or school?
   c) Add two recommendations to the list. Explain the purpose of each suggestion you added.

3. Former prime minister Jean Chrétien and former Québec premier Bernard Landry hold conflicting views on the future of Québec and Canada.

   Jean Chrétien, in his memoir, *My Years as Prime Minister*, 2007

   > Will independence bring a better form of government for the people of Quebec? In my opinion, no. Will it bring more peace? No. More prosperity? No. More justice? No. Even a better chance of survival of the French language and culture in North America? Again, no.

   Bernard Landry, in an interview, 2006

   > My sovereignist convictions . . . [are] based on our interests in the future and even with Canadian interests. It's not in the interests of Canada to be constantly fighting Québec's aspirations and trying to centralize when Québec wants to decentralize. Some things must be centralized in Canada, in the interests of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, but it's against Québec's interests. So if Québec is out of Canada, Canada will be in a better position to live its destiny and organize itself along values that are good for Canada. At the moment, it's an internal fight: on Constitution, on budget, about everything! It's not good for Canada and not good for Québec.

   These remarks were made at different times and in different places. But suppose Chrétien and Landry were participating in a moderated public debate on Canada's and Québec's future. During this kind of debate, the moderator asks questions submitted by news organizations or the public.

   a) Prepare a powerful question to submit during the debate between Chrétien and Landry. Your question might, for example, ask the two to predict the consequences of their vision on Canada, Québec, and the international community.
   b) Take the position of either Chrétien or Landry and list points you would use to respond to the question you have prepared.
   c) Then take the other debater's position and refute your own points.
   d) Of the two positions you have explored, which do you believe is stronger? Explain why.

4. With two other students, brainstorm to create a web of ideas about Canada and the world. Use the following questions to guide your brainstorming session:
   - What does it mean to be a citizen of Canada?
   - What might it mean to be a citizen of the world and of Canada simultaneously?
   - What conflicts may arise between nationalism or national identity and internationalism?
   - What virtues, values, and qualities could Canadians export to the rest of the world?

   Join another group and compare ideas.

   As a class, discuss the various ideas that have been generated.

5. In this chapter, you explored responses to the following inquiry questions:
   - What is national unity?
   - How does the nature of Canada affect national unity?
   - How has the changing face of Canada affected national unity?

   a) Choose one of these questions and develop two or three powerful questions that connect the question you chose to your own experiences. If you chose the final question, for example, you might ask a question like this: How has my life been affected by the changing face of Canada?

   b) Join three or four other students and compare the powerful questions you developed. Discuss whether common themes emerge from this comparison.

   c) On the basis of this discussion, develop three powerful questions that could be asked about any of the inquiry questions explored in this chapter.

Think about Your Challenge

By now, you have had many opportunities to revisit your responses to the related-issue question: To what extent should individuals and groups in Canada embrace a national identity?

Think about these responses and review the notes you made earlier on your starting position for the four-corners debate on the course-issue question: To what extent should we embrace nationalism? Decide whether you wish to stick to this position or revise your opinion.

Once you have firmed up your position, begin recording notes on arguments that will help you persuade others to support this position. Ask a classmate, friend, family member, or another person to listen as you express your arguments and ask this person for feedback. On the basis of this feedback, revise your arguments to make them more effective. In addition, start preparing counter-arguments.